

HASANLU AND URARTU

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Urartian sites in the Lake Urmia area

Between 80 and 100 Urartian sites dating from the 9th to the 7th century BC are recorded in north-western Iran by excavations and surveys conducted and published by Wolfram Kleiss (viz. 1976; Kleiss & Kroll 1979), Paolo Pecorella and Mirjo Salvini (Pecorella & Salvini (eds.) 1984: 19, 141-178 – all periods), and Stephan Kroll (1976a: 166-172). Zimansky (1985: 35, 110, note 3) wrote that 97 Urartian sites exist in NW Iran, Kroll (2004: 362) says 80 sites in the area are securely Urartian. Identifications by surveys have been ascertained by architectural and/or pottery analyses, which are the prime evidence for identifying settlement sites as Urartian; inscriptions per se indicate only an Urartian presence. Future review of survey data may reveal that in fact some sites classified as Urartian are post-Urartian, as has already been demonstrated (Kroll 1976a: 99-101; 1977: 116-177; Biscione this volume Chapter 05). I give here a summary of site distribution.

A good number of sites exist adjacent to Lake Urmia, north, west and south, with unimpeded routes in all directions (Fig. 18.01 see for a more detailed map showing the major sites around Lake Urmia see Biscione this volume Chapter 05: Fig. 05.01). To date no Urartian sites have been recognized east of Lake Urmia, but one Urartian campaign inscription was recently found at Javangaleh (see Salvini this volume chapter 08: Abb. 08.17). Of the many Urartian sites recorded to its north, the only one excavated is Bastam, which together with Ayanis on Lake Van, both sites founded by Rusa son of Argishti, are the most comprehensively published major Urartian sites available to date. I would also include the superb publication of the site Kayalidere by C. Burney (1966), also the fort site of Agrab Tepe (Muscarella 1973) in this category (for fort sites as opposed to fortress sites see Biscione this volume Chapter 05).

In the western area of Lake Urmia a good number of sites are recorded of apparent 8th-7th century date. The best known from excavations are Haftavan and Qaleh Ishmael Agha (Pecorella & Salvini 1982: 17, 21-25; Pecorella & Salvini (eds.) 1984: 167, 215-249; Kroll 1997: 98-9, and 2004: 362); at both sites – also at Qalatgah – 7th century Urartian and later, painted wares, were recorded (Muscarella 1971: 46).

In the south-west there are Hasanlu, Agrab Tepe and Qalatgah, the latter founded, as we fortunately know from an inscription of Ishpuini and Minua, ca. 800 BC, recovered luckily with its inscription outward and set as into a modern irrigation dam (Fig. 18.02; Muscarella 1971: 47). To me and Salvini (Salvini 1995a: 93) Qalatgah is ancient Ulhu, while to Zimansky (1985: 112, note 64) and Kroll (2004: 363) it is Uishe – which site to me and Salvini is Qaleh Ishmael Agha based on different interpretations of Sargon's Eighth Campaign route at Lake Urmia (see Pecorella & Salvini 1982: 16-17; Salvini 1995a: 87). In any event, Qalatgah may have been the controlling center for both the Urmia and Solduz plains' sites (Zimansky 1985: 37-40; Biscione this volume Chapter 05).

In the south-eastern area of Lake Urmia is Tashtep, the easternmost Lake Urmia Urartian site. Here was recovered an inscription of Minua (early 8th century BC), now removed (Kleiss 1970b: 119). A rock outcrop existed here, and some construction is noticeable. Pottery was also recovered (Kroll 2005:76), leaving open whether there was in fact an Urartian settlement here, one built soon after Qalatgah.

Just to the south-west of Tashtep, Kleiss surveyed several sites: Arslan Kaleh, Sheitan Abad to its south, and an unnamed and not precisely dated site 16 km north-east of Mahabad (Kleiss 1979: 221). None of these are manifestly Urartian sites (see Kroll 1976a: 99-100, 170-172, fig. 45); Kroll (1977: 116-7 and 2004: 362) claimed that neither Mahabad nor Geoy Tepe were Urartian.



Fig. 18.01. Map showing sites in north-western Iran.



Fig. 18.02. Qalatgah inscription in situ and removed (photos O.W. Muscarella).

Further south-east at Taraqeh (Traghe) near Bukan, a damaged rock inscription mentioning Ishpuini was discovered (www.cais-soas.com 2008). Not reported until 2005, it was removed/destroyed in 2006. We are informed that photos exist but they have not yet been published. Unknown is whether the name Ishpuini exists alone, or with a patronym; therefore we do not know whether it refers to Ishpuini, Ishpuini and Minua, or Minua: but it may surely be late 9th or early 8th century BC. We also do not know what the inscription signifies – but it may record a penetration not a settlement. The seal impression of Rusa son of Argishti from nearby Ziwiye (Seidl 1988a: n. 8 on p. 150) involves a later and unknown involvement/engagement there. At the cemetery site of Kul Tarike, 15 km east of Ziwiye, a number of Urartian-form fibulae were recovered in a tomb (Rezvani & Roustai 2007: 147, 167, Pl. 9; not mentioned as such by the excavators), but no other artifacts there, which include Iranian Iron III pottery, have indications of Urartian culture. What these fibulae signify remains open – Urartian gifts? Urartian diplomatic presence? (Urartian fibulae are said by dealers and others to come from Ziwiye, but to my knowledge, none have been excavated there.)

South-west of Qalatgah, Kleiss surveyed two sites, Kaniki Tepe and Gerdeh Sureh that may be Urartian, and if so they would be the southernmost Urartian sites recognized to date; Kroll (1976a: 101) is unsure about Gerdeh Sureh.

In the Karagündüz inscription of Ishpuini and Minua found north-east of Van mention is made of conquests in Meshta and Parsua; and Meshta and Mana are recorded in Minua's Tashtepe inscription (Pecorella & Salvini (eds.) 1984: 65-69). Thus these polities were surely not far from Lake Urmia – Hasanlu (Pecorella & Salvini 1982: 11-13).

The Qalatgah, Kel-i Shin and Tashtepe inscriptions demonstrate that soon after the consolidation of the state under Sarduri the polity expanded and built settlements in the Lake Urmia area, and soon thereafter at least penetrated further south. They also historically document the earliest Urartian southern penetration and settlement across the Zagros Mountains into NW Iran. The Kel-i Shin stela was erected geographically just within the modern Iraqi border; and further south in modern Iraq was – it has been assumed – the Haldi temple at Musasir, mentioned both in the Kel-i Shin and the later Topzawa inscription of Rusa son of Sarduri. Thus Musasir, very far south, was under Urartian control by the late 9th century BC (Pecorella & Salvini 1982: 6-9).

But was this a re-entry into the Urmia area? In 858 Shalmaneser III recorded a fortress, Sugunia, ruled by Aramu the Urartian, situated near Hubushkia, close to the 'Sea of Nairi', accepted by some in this context as Lake Urmia (Pecorella & Salvini 1982: 5). This would suggest an Urartian presence near Urmia in the first half of the 9th century BC. Did Shalmaneser get to Hasanlu (Pecorella & Salvini 1982: 5-7, 13; Salvini 1995a: 28)? Note that here an early, pre-ca.800 BC, destruction is clearly documented, labeled Hasanlu Period IV C (Kroll this volume Chapter 10)

To date, Hasanlu, and Agrab Tepe are the southernmost Urartian settlements actually excavated south of Lake Urmia; and Qalatgah and Tashtepe are at least meaningfully recorded (not to mention here Musasir). These sites may in fact represent the actual southern border of Urartu. Qalatgah is due east from the Kel-i Shin pass entry/terminal at Ushnu, Iran, and had a commanding view of the full surrounding area. The site was most probably the starting point from which the Urartian kings made their journeys west into the Zagros, into modern day Iraq (Pecorella & Salvini 1982; Zimansky 1985: 20-1).

Urartian Hasanlu

I turn now to the Urartian Period at Hasanlu (for which see Muscarella 2006: 83-87 for fuller details). Excavations began here in 1957 and terminated after 1974. The major and spectacular level at Hasanlu is that labeled Period IVB (a rebuilding of Period IVC), or Iron Age II with five major columned buildings (Fig. 18.02). Hasanlu IVB was violently destroyed by fire and warfare. One assumes that it was the Urartians led by Ishpuini and Minua who destroyed the site in the late 9th century BC – based on artifact analysis and on the construction of nearby Qalatgah (Dyson & Muscarella 1989: 1-4, 19; Pecorella & Salvini 1982: 9-11; Muscarella 2006: 75). But the date for the construction of the Urartian level, Hasanlu IIIB, above and over an erosion surface of the destroyed Period IVB (and an apparently brief and partial squatters' occupation) remains



Fig. 18.03. Hasanlu airview of the SW corner of the citadel, showing the III B wall cutting through Burnt Building I (courtesy of the Hasanlu Project).

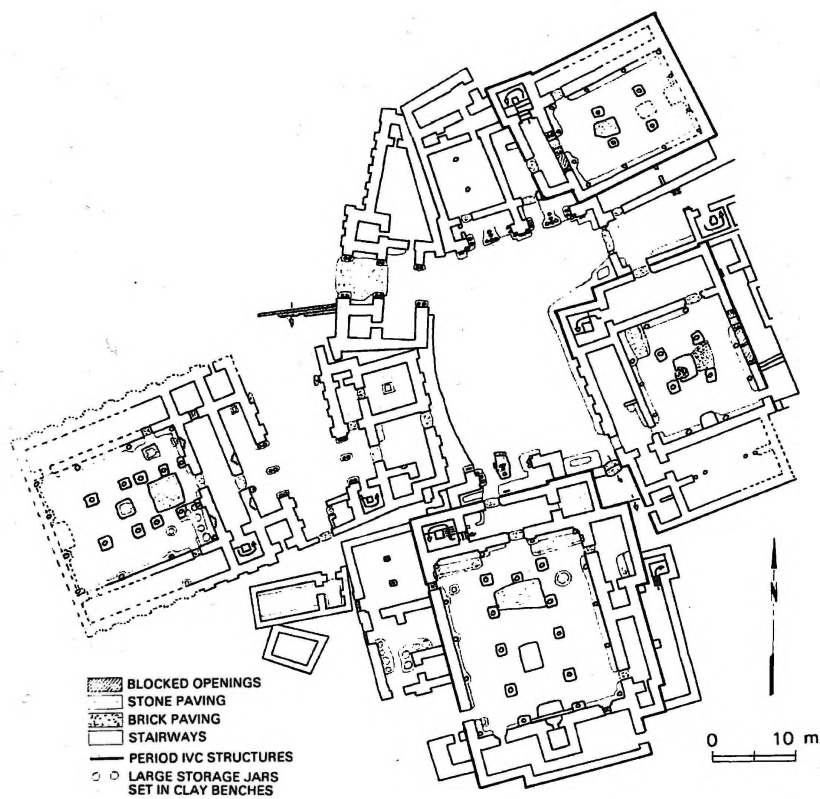


Fig. 18.04. Hasanlu Period IVB plan (after Dyson 1989).

unknown (Fig. 18.06; Dyson & Muscarella 1989: 2 Muscarella 2006: 82). Future review of field notes and sections may help here. There are no locally written inscriptions preserved (as was also the case in the earlier Period IVB period, see Pecorella & Salvini 1982: 3, and note 1; Pecorella & Salvini (eds.) 1984: 55-6), and thus we do not know its Urartian name, whether IIIB was constructed: by Ishpuini and Minua, or soon after by Minua, or even later by Sarduri or Rusa.

We also do not know when Agrab Tepe, the nearby Urartian fort built on a low rock outcrop just to the south of the larger Hasanlu, was constructed. Hasanlu IIIB is one of the few Urartian sites not built on a rock outcrop (below). What do we know about Hasanlu IIIB? I have elsewhere discussed the problems involved in acquiring meaningful archaeological knowledge of IIIB with regard to basic matters (Muscarella 2006: 83-87), summarized here. One major problem concerns the longstanding excavator's claim that the post-Period IV level was one cultural period, Period III, or Iron Age III.

In 1963 it was reported that Period III had two 'stages' or 'phases', the earlier designated as IIIB, the later as IIIA. Both 'phases' were said to contain the same pottery, including painted wares, labeled Triangle Ware (Fig. 18.05); and the Urartian pottery, polished red ware, recovered was merely claimed to indicate Urartian parallels.

But the significant stratigraphic, cultural and chronological distinctions of the IIIB and the following settlement, IIIA, were unrecognized for decades. Not until 1999 was the stratigraphic division between IIIB and IIIA discussed, and that 'a hard and well-formed erosion surface' had formed over the IIIB surface remains (Muscarella 2006: 86; the only two published sections are mentioned here – Fig. 18.06 is one). How Hasanlu IIIB terminated is also unclear at present.

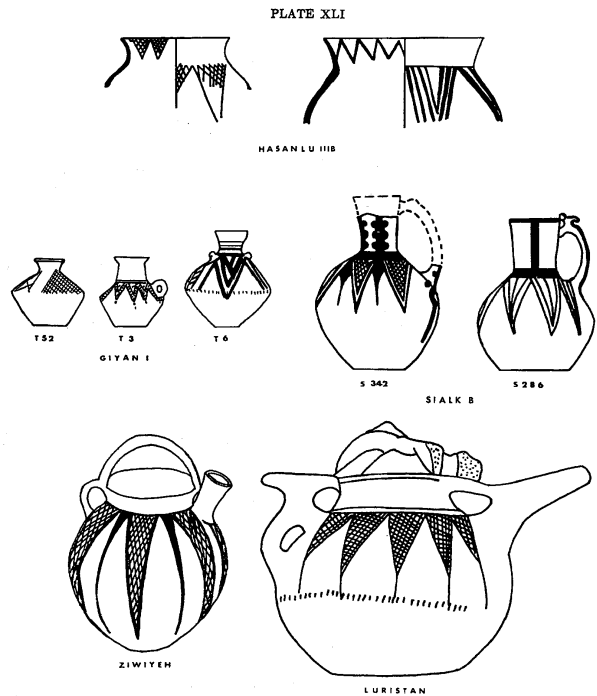
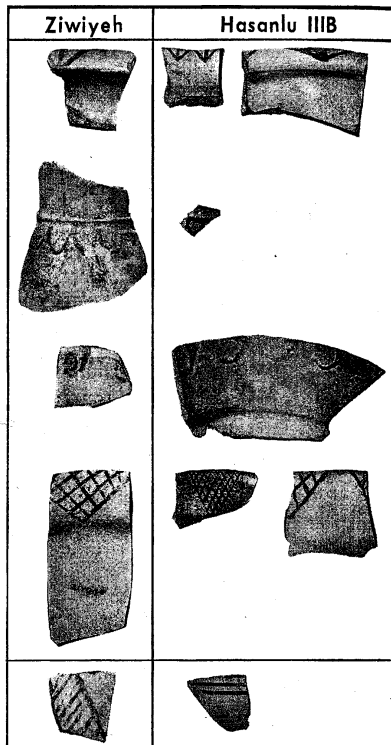


FIG. 10.—HASANLU III B AND OTHER TRIANGLE WARES

Fig. 18.05. Painted pottery initially labeled Period IIIB, now assigned to IIIA with suggested parallels from other sites (after Dyson 1965: figs. 9 and 10).

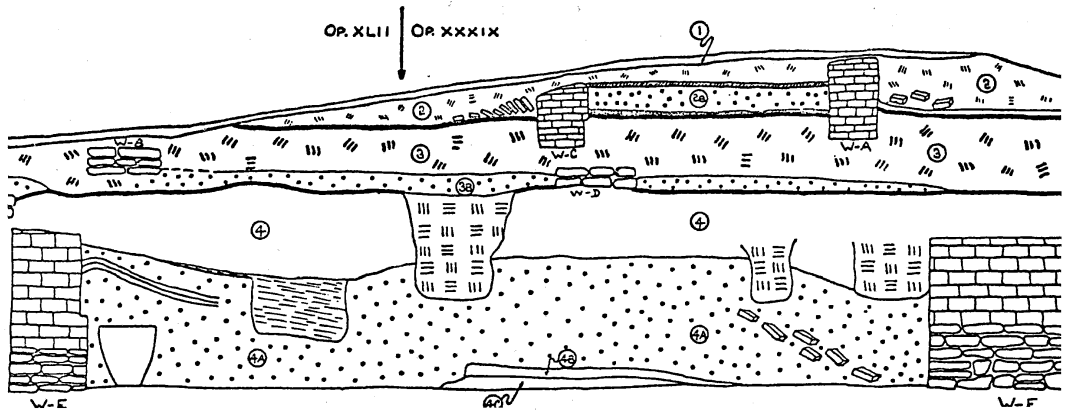


Fig. 18.06. Hasanlu section: Layers labelled 2 and 2a attributed to Period I, layers labelled 3 and 3a attributed to Period II, layer labelled 4 attributed to Period III, and layer labelled 4a attributed to Period IV (courtesy of the Hasanlu Project).



Fig. 18.07. Hasanlu: Period IVB walls below right, upper left Period III and Period II walls (courtesy of the Hasanlu Project).

Further, the major fortification wall (Fig. 18.08) was claimed for years to have been constructed in Period IVB. Not until 1975 – 17 years after excavations began – was it first reported in print that in fact the wall had nothing to do with IVB, that it was constructed later, in IIIB, and by Urartians. And it was not until 1999 (42 years after excavations began) that it was first reported in print that painted wares occurred *solely* in Period IIIA, the post-Urartian period.

But it was not reported until 2006 (Muscarella 2006: 83-85) that it was in fact Stephan Kroll, who was the first to recognize, at the site – and share the information: the correct stratigraphic position of the wall, demonstrating that it cut *into* Period IV from above (Fig. 18.03: note the wall cutting into BB I, the western structure here; Fig. 18.06 is Hasanlu IIIB), and that painted ware did not occur in IIIB, but later. These fundamental corrections by Kroll thereby manifestly demonstrated that IIIB was in reality an earlier and distinct culture from that of IIIA, indeed, that it was an Urartian settlement, the latter a post-Urartian settlement (see Kroll 1976a: 20-22, Abb. 2, 87, 156, 160, 163-165; also my review of this work (Muscarella 1978b).

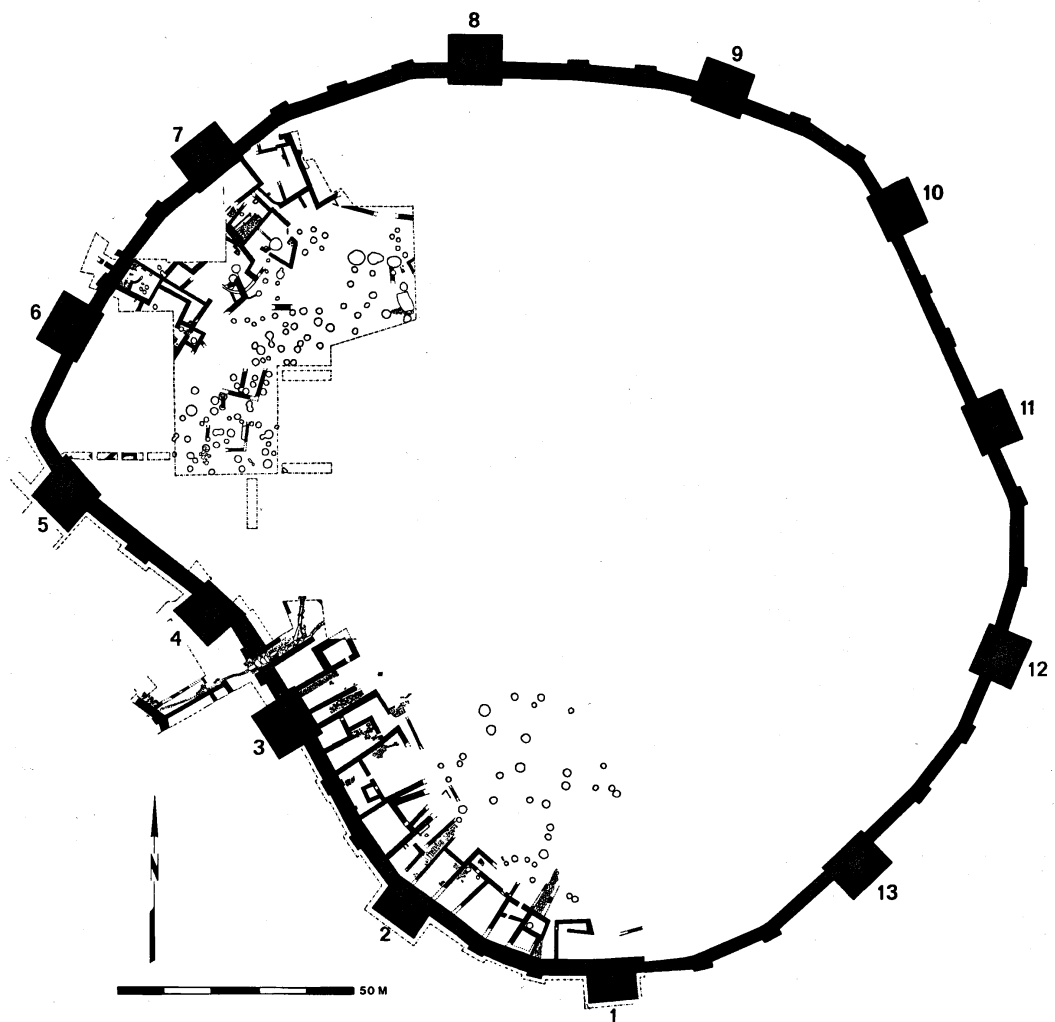


Fig. 18.08. Plan of Hasanlu Period IIIB (Urartian period) (after Dyson 1989).



Fig. 18.09. Hasanlu Period IIIB bowl (Has 62-321)
buff ware red matt slip d. 26 cm
(courtesy of the Hasanlu Project).

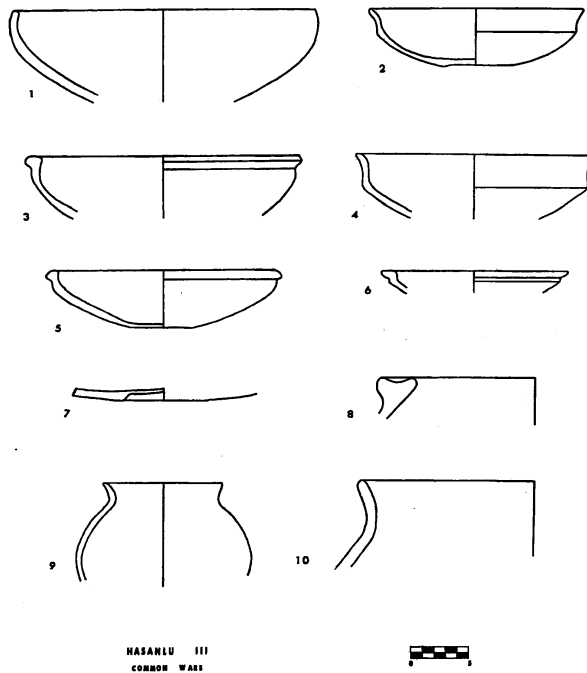


Fig. 18.10. Hasanlu Period IIIB pottery
(nos. 6 and 8 are Period IIIA)
(after Young 1965: fig. 1).

One of the major problems that still remains for archaeological knowledge of Hasanlu IIIB (equally for IIIA) is the inadequacy of published information on its material culture, the fortification wall construction, architecture, burials and their contents, the full complement of artifacts, including pottery, and evidence for its termination. This material is now being studied by Stephan Kroll. We do know of course that the Urartians built at least two major sites in the southern Lake Urmia area, Qalatgah in the Ushnu valley, and Hasanlu in the Solduz valley – and here also the Agrab Tepe fort, and also possibly Tashtep further east, beginning in the late 9th century BC, continuing later and expending much time and resources to protect them.

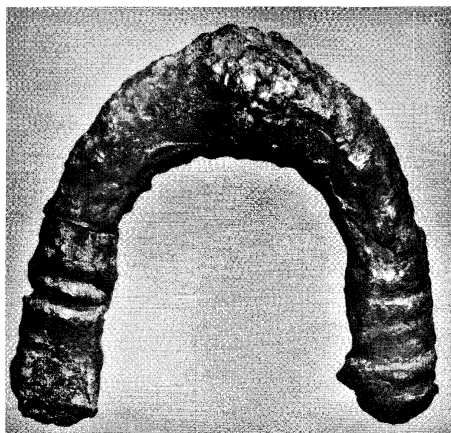


Fig. 18.11. Hasanlu IIIB fibulae (above)
Has 62-324 length c. 4.2 cm (below)
Has 64-7 length 2.5 cm.
Courtesy of the Hasanlu Project.

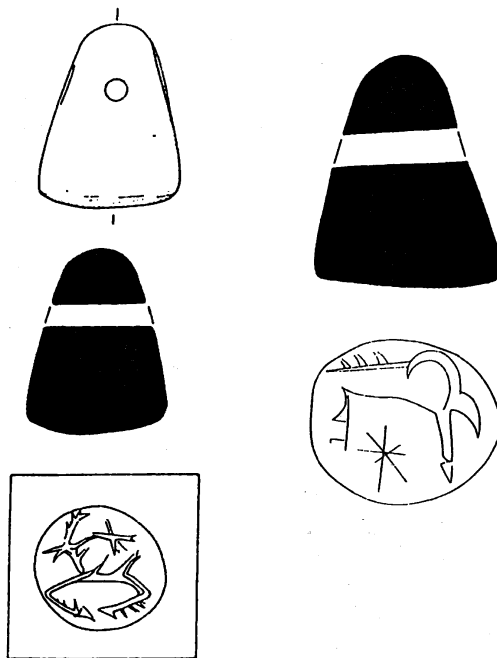


Fig. 18.12. Hasanlu IIIB stamp seals (left) Has 64-9;
(right) Has 64-44 (after Marcus 1996:
fig. 117 no. D1, fig. 118 no. D2).

The facts known from the publications about this period at Hasanlu are: the fortification wall, which is typically Urartian, a plan of the rooms along the south and east wall (other evidence is still unpublished, Fig. 18.08), some pottery (Fig. 18.10), a number of fibulae (Fig. 18.11; Muscarella 1988: 45-7) – one found in the classic Urartian bowl of Fig. 18.09, (Muscarella 2006: 83-87), and two seals (Fig. 18.12). Information reported in publications but unpublished includes: burials and their contents – a number are mentioned, but given the paucity of Urartian burials, the omission is a major loss; most of the pottery and artifacts in general; and the contents and architecture of the rooms.

Agrab Tepe

Agrab Tepe is to date the only fully excavated and published Urartian site in the Urmia area (Figs. 18.13-14; Muscarella 1973). Relevant is its placement and association with Hasanlu. Agrab is less than two miles from Hasanlu, a walking time of 45 minutes, and they are intervisible, and thus not isolated from each other. The rock outcrop and the structure built upon it were a component of the Hasanlu landscape. Agrab was a well-built fort, small (31 x 28 meters) but with powerful fortification walls; its construction was without doubt accomplished by the IIIB authority (for size evaluation of this 'small stronghold' see Kleiss 1983a: 283, Abb. 1; Zimansky 1985: 35; Biscione this volume Chapter 05). It must have served some highly strategic purpose, perhaps to guard a nearby spring, a water source, but also functioning as a defensive outpost against a threatening enemy (as Zimansky 1985: 40; for size see Kleiss 1983a: 286, Abb. 2).

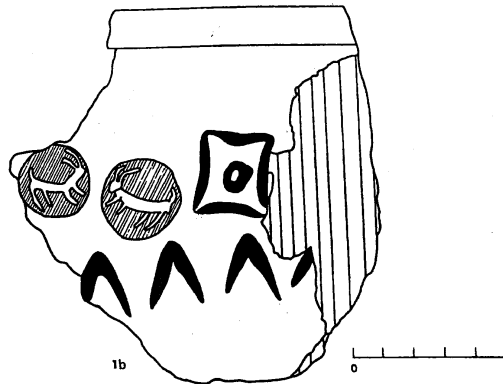


Fig. 18.15. Agrab Tepe stamped pottery sherd
(after Muscarella 1973: fig. 20, 1b).

I argue that Agrab warrants inclusion in all research and discussion about Urartian Hasanlu, surely its parent site (see also Dyson & Muscarella 1989: 21, 22). The fortress suffered two destructions and immediate rebuilding before the final one.¹ Pottery from all three phases is precisely paralleled with that from a number of destroyed Urartian sites in eastern Turkey and north-western Iran, and further illustrates the uniformity of Urartian material throughout the kingdom. The Agrab pottery and other artifacts together with those from Hasanlu derive from a common cultural community (see Muscarella 1973; also Dyson & Muscarella 1989: 21, 22). These include a sealing for which no exact parallel is known to me, but which is classical Urartian (Fig. 18.15), and several pottery vessels including an askos and a nipple based beaker (Fig. 18.16), and a stemmed goblet (pokal) fragment (Colour plate IVb), and pithoi, all of which find exact parallels throughout the Urartian kingdom (Kroll 1976a: 129, 130, 140, 143, 144; at present we do not know if similar pottery remains derive from Hasanlu).

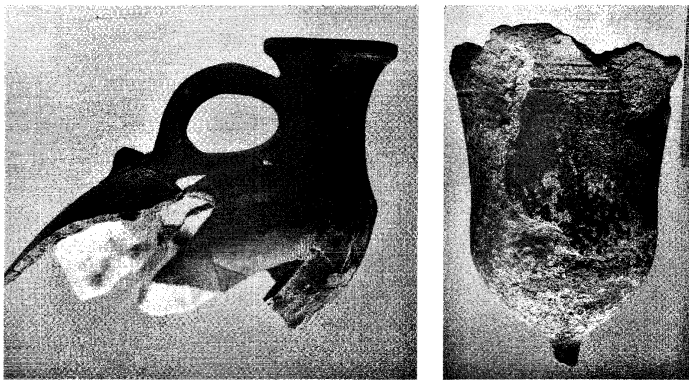


Fig. 18.16. Agrab Tepe pottery: left a red-slipped askos AG 64-34, height 9.5 cm, right a nipple based beaker AG 64-38, height 22.5 cm (Muscarella 1973: figs. 26 and 25).

¹ Çilingiroğlu & Salvini (2001: 18) mention two destructions at Ayanis prior to the final one. This conclusion has now been determined to be erroneous: there was but one, and that the final, destruction there. Further, the dendrochronological cutting dates for Ayanis logs, originally given as 655-651 ±37 BC (Çilingiroğlu & Salvini 2001: 17), have since been modified and raised by two decades to 677-673 ±4 / -7 BC (see Newton & Kuniholm 2007 and Çilingiroğlu this volume Chapter 20).

The End of Urartu

An important historical problem is often raised: Who destroyed Hasanlu IIIB and Agrab Tepe? Agrab's earlier destructions before the final one document unrest and warfare in the Urmia area over a (short?) period of time. Both sites certainly simultaneously experienced their final destructions, which can be dated (on archaeological, primarily ceramic, evidence) to the general period when all other Urartian sites were destroyed, presumably in the late 7th century BC (Muscarella 1973: 73; this is a fair general date, given the disagreements about precise dating). From Assyrian texts we know that Cimmerians were in Urartu and the NW Iranian area in 714 BC (Pecorella & Salvini 1982: 15-6; Muscarella 2003: 247-49 has a discussion of the Cimmerians and relevant bibliography). Both Scythians and Cimmerians were also there in the 670s, too early to have caused the final destructions, but Scythians and perhaps Cimmerians were surely in the area for some time and both must have had close contacts with the Urartian settlements, whether friendly or antagonistic, for some time. It has often been asserted or suggested that, based primarily on the evidence of bronze socketed arrows, Scythians caused the final destructions of Urartian sites – but these arrows themselves cannot determine for us unambiguous ethnic identities, and the issue of the specific (or allied) destroyers remains under review (Derin & Muscarella 2001: *passim*, 200-2).² Significant in this context is archaeological evidence that a nomadic (not precisely defined!) entity was indeed physically present at Hasanlu at some still to be determined time (whether late 8th or early 7th century BC) evidenced by the recovery there of classical nomadic peoples' artifacts. Fig. 18.17 (left) is a hitherto unpublished bridle attachment recovered from a burial (whose locus and other contents remain unpublished). It is a classic nomadic peoples' artifact: a superb parallel derives from Kelermes (Fig. 18.17 right), near the Sea of Azov, hundreds of miles to the north-west. Fig. 18.18 shows two bone psalia recovered, but again, precisely where and in what context we do not know (Muscarella 2006: 86; here I also correct the erroneous, published level locus); similar examples derive from Cavuştepe and Karmir Blur (Hauptmann 1983: 259, fig. 5, 266; *pace* Hauptmann, none derive from Kaplantu), and possibly Bastam (Muscarella 1988: 66, n. 2; 265).

But the most substantial and dramatic evidence for the presence of a nomadic people at Hasanlu is provided by the poorly published human burial with four horses excavated there in 1947 by Ali Hakemi and Mahmoud Rad (Fig. 18.19).³ In their publication (Hakemi & Rad 1950 in Persian) no information was

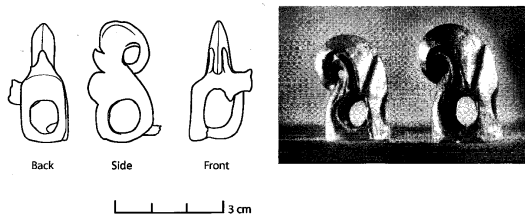


Fig. 18.17. Bridle attachments: left Hasanlu (Has 64-99, height 2.9 cm) (courtesy of the Hasanlu Project). Right Kelermes (approximately the same height) (after Artamonov 1970).

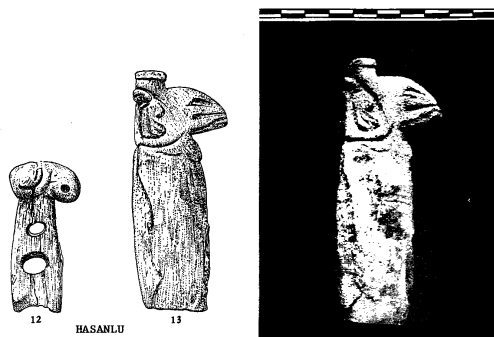


Fig. 18.18. Hasanlu bone psalia: left Has 62-133, height 6.5 cm and middle and right Has 62-72 height 11 cm (courtesy of the Hasanlu Project).

² As published this article has a good number of lines and phrases either omitted or repeated. These errors/typos were not in the manuscript and disc sent to the editor.

³ See Muscarella 1988: 219-20, n. 3 for discussion and published references of the burial; also 2006: 83, n. 13 for additional discussion and references. For horse burials see Hauptmann 1983: 260-3. On p. 262 Hauptmann seems to confuse a later find from Hasanlu with finds from the tomb under discussion here.

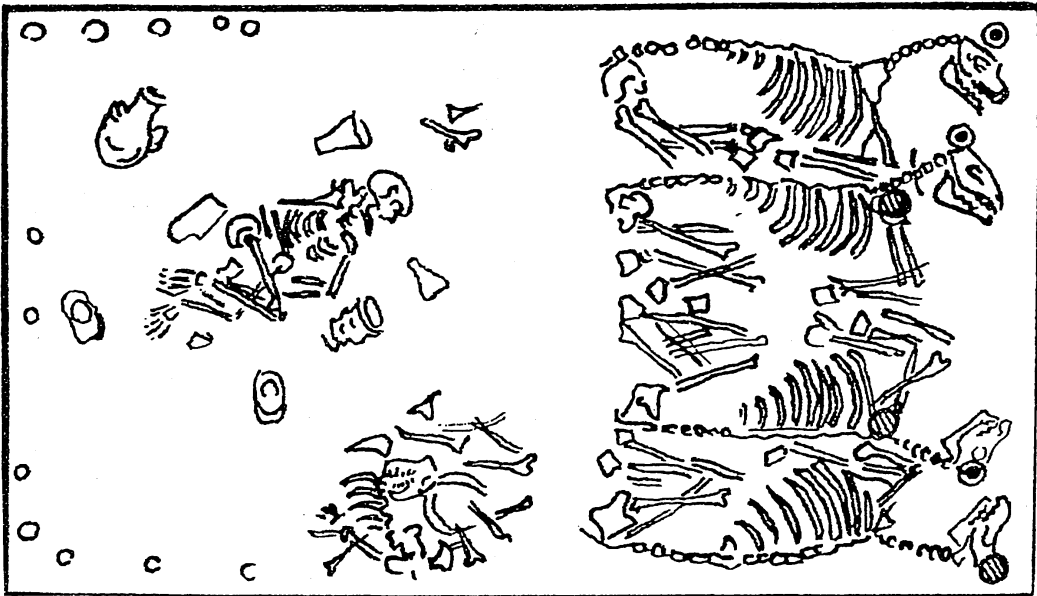


Fig. 18.19. Hasanlu nomadic burial with horses (no scale given, after Ghirshman 1964a: fig. 131).

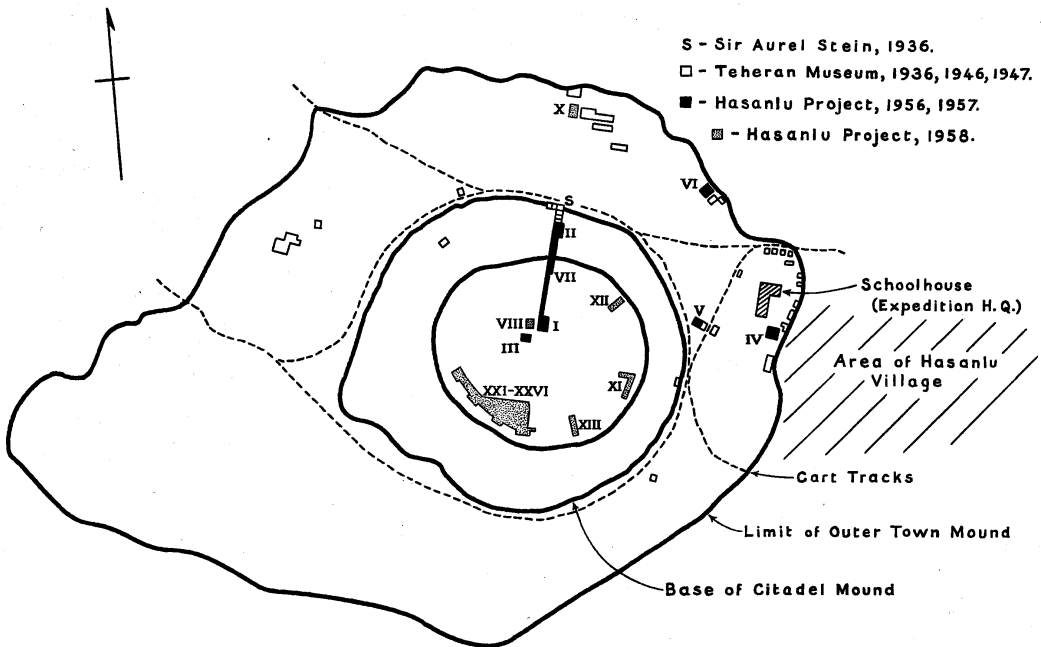


Fig. 18.20. Plan of Hasanlu (no scale given, courtesy of the Hasanlu Project).

provided about the tomb contents or about horse paraphernalia, but in 1965 Rad told T.C. Young that the tomb was recovered just below the mound, east of the east face, north side, of the schoolhouse (used by the modern excavators as its field house), just where the arrow is on the plan (Fig. 18.20).⁴ He also said that the burial contained monochrome non-spouted vessels, a large decorated plaque, and the skeleton had had a bronze head-band. According to Ghirshman (1964: 29) there were also leaf-shaped arrows present, but Rad did not mention arrows. The horses surely indicate that the tomb was that of a nomadic individual, and the lack of socketed arrows may not be important in determining such a deposition. Socketed arrowheads occur at nearby Agrab Tepe and at other Urartian sites (Muscarella 1973: 66: Fig. 27, 2, 3, 107; Derin and Muscarella 2001: 192-4): At Hasanlu at least five were recovered in the fill over Period IVB, subsequent to that period (Muscarella 1988: 63: no. 90; Derin and Muscarella 2001: 193). Further, as noted above, a bridle attachment derives from the post IVB period on the Hasanlu mound. Two such examples were recovered in the nomadic horse burial at Norşuntepe (Hauptmann 1983: 257, Fig.4: 1). Were the Hasanlu arrows and bridle attachment remains of nomadic attackers or allies, or were they also employed by the local Urartians? (For this problem see Derin and Muscarella 2001: 192-3, 197-8, 202-203). However, as for the historical background and cultural nature of the horse burial, I repeat that it was deposited post Period IVB, and contained a nomad.

Addendum

After the writing of this paper was completed Peter Magee generously sent me the proofs of his article 'Deconstruction the destruction of Hasanlu: archaeology, imperialism and the chronology of the Iranian Iron Age', now published in *Iranica Antiqua* 43 (2008): 89-106. Here Magee argues against the chronological and cultural conclusions brought forth in Dyson & Muscarella 1989 (also accepted by many other scholars). To him it has not been demonstrated that Hasanlu IVB was necessarily destroyed ca. 800 BC, and that 'a revision to the chronology is necessary' (p. 91). I give here a brief response.

Contrary to Magee (p. 92) the destruction of Hasanlu IVB was not dated to ca. 800 BC solely on C14 dating, and his conclusion based on this opinion 'Thus the presentation of artifacts ... invariably carry a chronology of before 800 BC' is erroneous. In fact, in our article Dyson wrote that part dealing with the C14 determinations and their implications and I wrote the part containing the artifact analyses concerning the chronology of the artifacts as well as the historical and archaeological conclusions: these sections were written *independently* of each other (see Dyson & Muscarella 1989: 4). Thus, in addition to I. Medvedskaya (p. 93), Muscarella also 'focused on artifactual evidence.' Indeed, the 1989 article was generated as a direct response to Medvedskaya regarding her 8th century chronology of the IVB artifacts, and I disagreed with her chronological conclusions – which, of course, are always open to further discussion. Magee should have noted this. And his claims that Dyson and Muscarella 'argued that the stylistic trajectory of the artifacts must be altered according to the carbon 14 dates back into the ninth century BC', (p. 93) and also that 'Dyson and Muscarella's suggestion that all forms of other evidence must defer to that of carbon-14 dates' (p. 98) are incorrect: no references were cited – because no such statements were made. We do of course see a concordance between the two sets of evidence: the C14 dates 'form an important and independent corpus of data for the establishment of the chronology of Hasanlu' (Dyson & Muscarella 1989: 11-12). Further, Magee himself does not confront the chronology of the artifacts independently of *his* C14 analyses, which is most relevant to both our interpretations.

Magee doubts that Hasanlu IVB was destroyed by Urartians in ca. 800 BC; rather it was conquered and allowed to exist under political domination by them from their recently constructed site at Qalatgah (pp. 93-95, 103-4).⁵ This belief (interpretation is not an appropriate word here) cannot follow from the archaeological remains (over 7000 artifacts were recovered). Not a single Urartian vessel or artifact was recovered in Hasanlu

⁴ Young's notes on the interview are preserved in the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania.

⁵ On the issue of Hasanlu IVB continuing after ca. 800 BC, see Diakonoff & Medvedskaya 1988: 200 n. 3, 202.

IVB – except *maybe* a mace head (on this and helmets, see Dyson & Muscarella 1989: 19-20) that was found in the destruction debris, and there was no way to know if it was wielded by an enemy or a local soldier. This total lack of Urartian artifacts demonstrates that Urartu had neither political control nor even cultural contact with Hasanlu IVB (on this, see Dyson & Muscarella 1989: 19-20, 22, 25, note 115); no large or ‘small Urartian garrison’ (p. 95) existed there. Hasanlu IVB cannot be identified under any archaeological reality (or theory) to have been an Urartian site: Only Hasanlu IIIB was an Urartian site. This crucial archaeological datum is ignored. As for Dinkha Tepe (p. 95), there was no material later than Hasanlu IVB or any Urartian material recovered there. The site was apparently abandoned, or ‘most probably destroyed’ (not an ‘assertion’ as Magee claims) during or at the end of the Iron II Period. Either way, this event occurred surely/probably at the same time that Hasanlu IVB was destroyed, as there is an abrupt cultural termination at both sites.

Contrary to Magee (p. 96), for me there is now no ‘uncertainty concerning the inhabitants of’ Agrab Tepe, and this should have been more correctly reported. For indeed, while I was abeyant regarding the cultural polity at Agrab in 1973, I eventually accepted the obvious: Agrab is manifestly an Urartian polity/cultural site. Aside from the present article, see Muscarella 1988: 15, 107; Muscarella 2006: 86, 87 as well as note 2 (mentioned by Magee; and Dyson & Muscarella 1989: 4, 21, 22). And as noted in the present article, the pottery and the sealing are classic Urartian, of forms recovered all across its territory, pace Magee’s broad and I suggest forced interpretation of the site’s internationalism and his fig. 3. In Muscarella 1973: 55-65, I presented general Iranian and Urartian loci for bowl parallels, and the corpus of classic Urartian vessels at the site is dominating and outstanding – which most surely, pace Magee, indicates, to paraphrase him, that their ‘cultural tendency, therefore was ... towards Urartu’ (see p. 96). As already noted, Agrab was surely destroyed at the same time as Hasanlu IIIB.

I have no opinion whether Hasanlu IVB was or was not Meshta (p. 97), and its identification as such is an interpretation, not a fact: ignored here are Dyson & Muscarella 1989: 19, 21, 25, note 105 and Muscarella 2006: 82 (for an alternative suggestion see Kroll this volume Chapter 10).

The Burned Building III C14 discussion asserting that it has no relevance for establishing the date of the destroyed Burned Building II (and four other structures) floats in the air (p. 99). The C14 evidence Magee presents does not demonstrate that BB III had to have been/was destroyed after BB II. Both buildings were burnt, together with all the other IVB structures, most certainly simultaneously. And as reported in the present article above, the Urartians cut through and destroyed part of BB III’s rear wall when they built their fortification wall over it. As for the claim that the C14 data could be accepted as post-9th (including 7th/5th?) century BC, they also most certainly could be late 9th century BC, as he himself infers (page 102). But I leave this to the C14 scholars to debate.

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Abbreviations

AfO	<i>Archiv für Orientforschung</i>
AHw	W. von Soden 1965-1981. <i>Akkadisches Handwörterbuch</i> , Wiesbaden
AMI	<i>Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran</i>
AMIT	<i>Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran und Turan</i>
BAR IS	British Archaeological Reports International Series
CAD	A.L. Oppenheim & E. Reiner (eds.) 1956-. <i>The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago</i> , Chicago-Glückstadt
CTN 5	H.W.F. Saggs 2001. <i>The Nimrud Letters, 1952</i> , Cuneiform Texts from Nimrud V, British School of Archaeology in Iraq, London
CTU	M. Salvini 2008. <i>Corpus dei testi urartei</i> Vols. 1-3. <i>Le iscrizioni su pietra e roccia</i> , Documenta Asiana 8, Rome
HchI	F.W. König 1955-1957. <i>Handbuch der chaldäischen Inschriften</i> , AfO Beiheft 8, Graz
IFŽ	<i>Istoriko-filologičeskij Žurnal [Historical-Philological Journal]</i> Patma-Banasirakan Handes, Yerevan
I.N.	<i>Ivories from Nimrud</i>
IstMitt	<i>Istanbuler Mitteilungen</i>
JNES	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
PNA	<i>The Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire</i>
RIA	<i>Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie</i>
SAA	State Archives of Assyria
SAA 1	S. Parpola 1987. <i>The Correspondence of Sargon II, Part I. Letters from Assyria and the West</i> , SAA 1, Helsinki
SAA 4	I. Starr 1990. <i>Queries to the Sun God: Divination and Politics in Sargonid Assyria</i> , SAA 4, Helsinki
SAA 5	G.B. Lanfranchi & S. Parpola 1990. <i>The Correspondence of Sargon II, Part II. Letters from the Northern and Northeastern Provinces</i> , SAA 5, Helsinki
SAA 7	F.M. Fales & J.N. Postgate 1992. <i>Imperial Administrative Records, Part I: Palace and Temple Administration</i> , SAA 7, Helsinki
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SAA 16	M. Luukko & G. Van Buylaere 2002. <i>The Political Correspondence of Esarhaddon</i> , SAA 16, Helsinki
SAAS	State Archives of Assyria Studies

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- UPD I.M. D'jakonov, 1963. *Urartskie pis'ma i dokumenty [Urartian letters and documents]*, Izdatel'stvo Akademii Nauk SSSR, Moskva - Leningrad
- VDI *Vestnik Drevnei Istorii [Messenger of Ancient History]*
- ZA *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und Vorderasiatische Archäologie*

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